

# EXHIBIT A TO SPITZER DECLARATION

October 2022

## **Curriculum Vitae**

**Robert J. Spitzer**

**Distinguished Service Professor, Emeritus  
SUNY Cortland**

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Education: A.B. (Political Science), summa cum laude, SUNY College at Fredonia, 1975.  
M.A. Cornell University, 1978.  
Ph.D. Cornell University, 1980.

### Positions Held:

Department Chair, SUNY Cortland, 2008-2020.  
Interim Department Chair, SUNY Cortland, 2004-2005.  
Distinguished Service Professor, SUNY Cortland, 1997-2021.  
Visiting Professor, Cornell University, Spring, 2009, Spring 1993; Summers 1980, 1988-1990, 1992-2017.  
Professor, SUNY Cortland, 1989 to 1997.  
Continuing Appointment, SUNY Cortland, 1986.  
Associate Professor, SUNY Cortland, 1984 to 1989.  
Department Chair, SUNY Cortland, 1983 to 1989.  
Visiting Professor, SUNY College of Technology, Utica-Rome, Graduate Division, 1985, 1986, 1988.  
Copy Editor, Administrative Science Quarterly, 1982 to 1983.  
Adjunct Professor, Tompkins-Cortland Community College, 1982-83.  
Assistant Professor, SUNY Cortland, 1979 to 1984.  
Instructor, Cornell University, 1979.  
Instructor, Eisenhower College, 1978-1979.  
Research Assistant, Theodore J. Lowi and Benjamin Ginsberg, 1976-1978.  
Reporter (Stringer), Buffalo Courier-Express; Dunkirk Evening Observer, 1974-75.

Honors:

Fellow, the Royal Society for Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA), London, England, 2020.

Founding member, Regional Gun Violence Research Consortium, coordinated with the Rockefeller Institute of Government. Consortium of gun policy experts from eight states to advance research on gun policy, 2018-present.

Member, SUNY Research Council, an advisory council to the SUNY Board of Trustees, SUNY System Administration, campus leadership teams, and the leadership team of the Research Foundation (RF) for SUNY, 2018-2021.

Member, Scholars Strategy Network, 2015-present. Created to improve public policy and strengthen democracy by connecting scholars and their research to policymakers, citizens associations, and the media.

Winner, Pi Sigma Alpha (the national political science honors society) Chapter Advisor of the Year Award for 2013.

Winner, Outstanding Achievement in Research Award, SUNY Cortland, 2010.

Winner, Outstanding Achievement in Research Award, SUNY Cortland, 2005.

Winner, State University of New York's Chancellor's Excellence in Scholarship and Creative Activities Award, 2003.

SUNY Cortland Nominee, National Scholar Competition of the Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, 1994-95.

Winner, New York State/United University Professions Excellence Award, 1991, for "outstanding professional performance and superior service."

Member, New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, 1986-1990.

Member, New York State Ratification Celebration Committee for U.S. Constitution Bicentennial, 1987-88.

Member, National Bicentennial Competition on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, 1987-1991.

Who's Who in the World, 1996.

Dictionary of International Biography, 1995.

Who's Who in the East, 1995-96; 1997-98

Ex officio member, Cortland County Bicentennial Committee, 1987-89.

Chair, SUNY Cortland Bicentennial Committee, 1987-89.

Phi Eta Sigma, SUNY Cortland, 1994.

Phi Kappa Phi, SUNY Cortland, 1990.

Men of Achievement (1986)

Contemporary Authors, vol. 112 (1985) and subsequent updates.

International Authors and Writers Who's Who, 1985-present.

International Who's Who in Education, Winter 1985-86.

Herbert H. Lehman Graduate Fellowship, 1975-79.

Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges, 1974-75.

Phi Beta Kappa Club, SUNY College at Fredonia, 1975.

Phi Alpha Theta (History), SUNY College at Fredonia, 1974.

Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia, (Music), SUNY College at Fredonia, 1973.

#### Research Fellowships and Projects:

Individual Development Awards, SUNY Cortland, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2014, 2017, 2020.

Title "F" Leave with pay, Spring 1994.

Professional Development and Quality of Working Life Award, 1989, 1993, 1998, 1999.

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Research Grant for Study of the Constitution, 1986. Project Proposal: "The Presidential Veto: Constitutional Antecedents and Modern Applications."

SUNY Cortland Faculty Research Program Grant, "The Presidential Veto, 1986.

Consultant for Reporting Research Corporation, "Quality of Earnings Report," Thornton L. O'Glove, author; research on presidential veto use, 1984-1987.

SUNY University Awards Program Research Fellowship, "The Right to Life Party and New York State Politics, 1983.

SUNY Cortland Faculty Research Program Fellowship, "New York State Parties and Politics," 1980.

#### Publications and Papers:

##### Books:

The Presidency and Public Policy: The Four Arenas of Presidential Power (University, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1983). A study of the President's relations with Congress in the making of domestic policy. Revised version of doctoral dissertation.

The Right to Life Movement and Third Party Politics (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987). A study of the New York multi-party system, single-issue third parties, and the state-based Right to Life Party.

The Presidential Veto: Touchstone of the American Presidency (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1988), with a foreword by Louis Fisher. A study of the constitutional antecedents and modern applications of the veto power. Published as part of SUNY Press Series on Leadership, edited by Barbara Kellerman.

Editor, The Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution: Commemoration and Renewal (Cortland, NY: SUNY Cortland, 1990). A compendium of articles based on presentations given at SUNY Cortland pertaining to the Constitution's Bicentennial. Contributors include Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Theodore J. Lowi, Judith A. Best, and Robert

Spitzer.

President and Congress: Executive Hegemony at the Crossroads of American Government (New York: McGraw-Hill; and Temple University Press, 1993). Published simultaneously by co-publishing agreement in paper by McGraw-Hill, and hardcover by Temple. An analytic survey and critique of presidential-congressional relations. Received Honorable Mention for the Richard Neustadt Award for Best Book on the Presidency for 1993.

Editor, Media and Public Policy (New York: Praeger, 1993). Published in Praeger's Political Communications Series, edited by Robert E. Denton, Jr. A collection of original essays dealing with various aspects of media's impact on public policy. Contributors include Doris Graber, Julio Borquez, Wenmouth Williams, Marion Just, Ann Crigler, Michael Hawthorne, Dean Alger, Jerry Medler, Michael Medler, Montague Kern, Robert Sahr, Holli Semetko, Edie Goldenberg, Patrick O'Heffernan, and Robert Spitzer.

The Politics of Gun Control (New York: Chatham House, 1995; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1998; 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, CQ Press, 2004; 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 2008; 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Paradigm/Routledge Publishers 2012; 6<sup>th</sup> ed., Routledge, 2015, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 2018; 8<sup>th</sup> ed. 2021). A comprehensive political and policy analysis of the gun issue that applies policy theory to the key elements of the gun debate, including analysis of the Second Amendment, cultural-historical factors, interest group behavior, criminological consequences, legislative and executive politics.

Editor, Politics and Constitutionalism: The Louis Fisher Connection, (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2000). A collection of original essays inspired by the works of Louis Fisher. Contributors include Neal Devins, Nancy Kassop, Dean Alfange, David Adler, Loch Johnson, Michael Glennon, Louis Fisher, and Robert Spitzer. Published as part of the SUNY Press Book Series on American Constitutionalism. Nominated by SUNY Press for the 2001 Silver Gavel Award of the American Bar Association.

The Right to Bear Arms: Rights and Liberties Under the Law (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001). An extensive analysis of the Second Amendment "right to bear arms" from legal, historical, and political perspectives. Published as part of the "America's Freedoms" Series edited by Donald Grier Stephenson.

Essentials of American Politics, co-authored with Benjamin Ginsberg, Johns Hopkins; Theodore Lowi, Cornell; Margaret Weir, Berkeley. (W.W. Norton, 2002; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2006). A synthetic, analytic look at American government and politics.

The Presidency and the Constitution: Cases and Controversies, co-authored with Michael A. Genovese (NY: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2005). A combination of analysis and cases examining the courts' view of presidential power.

Saving the Constitution from Lawyers: How Legal Training and Law Reviews Distort Constitutional Meaning (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). A sweeping indictment of the legal community when it enters into the realm of constitutional interpretation.

We the People: Essentials Edition, co-authored with Benjamin Ginsberg, Johns Hopkins; Theodore Lowi, Cornell; Margaret Weir, Berkeley. (W.W. Norton, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. 2009; 8<sup>th</sup> ed. 2011; 9<sup>th</sup> ed., 2013; 10<sup>th</sup> ed. 2015; 11<sup>th</sup> ed. 2017; 12<sup>th</sup> ed. 2019; 13<sup>th</sup> ed. 2021).

Gun Control: A Documentary and Reference Guide (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009). A combination of analysis, commentary, and original historical and contemporary documents pertaining to the gun issue published in Greenwood's Documentary and Reference Series.

The Gun Debate: An Encyclopedia of Gun Rights and Gun Control, co-authored with Glenn Utter (Grey House Publishers, 2011; third edition 2016). An A-Z compendium of gun issues.

Guns across America: Reconciling Gun Rules and Rights (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); revised paperback edition published 2017. Argues that our understanding of the gun issue as it has evolved in the U.S. is upside down, looking at gun law history, the Second Amendment, stand your ground laws, and New York State gun laws.

The Gun Dilemma: How History Is Against Expanded Gun Rights (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023, forthcoming). Argues that the courts are ushering in a new era of expanded gun rights, despite the fact that such a movement is contrary to our gun history by examining assault weapons, ammunition magazines, silencers, gun brandishing, and the Second Amendment sanctuary movement.

Book Series Editor, Series on American Constitutionalism, SUNY Press, 1996-present. Books include:

Daniel Hoffman, Our Elusive Constitution, (1997)

Martin Sheffer, God and Caesar: Belief, Worship, and Proselytizing Under the First Amendment, (1999)

Daniel Levin, Representing Popular Sovereignty: The Constitution in American Political Culture, (1999)

Robert Spitzer, ed., Politics and Constitutionalism, (2000)

Laura Langer, Judicial Review in State Supreme Courts (2002)

Ian Brodie, Friends of the Court (2002)

Samuel Leiter and William Leiter, Affirmative Action in Antidiscrimination Law and Policy (2002)

Artemus Ward, Deciding to Leave: The Politics of Retirement from the United States Supreme Court (2003)

- James T. McHugh, Ex Uno Plura: State Constitutions and Their Political Cultures (2003)
- Stephen Newman, ed., Constitutional Politics in Canada and the United States (2004).
- Stephen Kershnar, Justice for the Past (2004).
- Timothy R. Johnson, Oral Arguments and Decision Making on the U.S. Supreme Court (2004).
- Christopher P. Banks, David B. Cohen, and John C. Green, eds., The Final Arbiter: The Consequences of Bush v. Gore for Law and Politics (2005)
- Kenneth D. Ward and Cecilia R. Castillo, eds., The Judiciary and American Democracy: Alexander Bickel, the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, and Contemporary Constitutional Theory (2005).
- G. Alan Tarr and Robert F. Williams, eds., State Constitutions for the Twenty-first Century: The Politics of State Constitutional Reform (2006).
- Frank P. Grad and Robert F. Williams, State Constitutions for the Twenty-first Century: Drafting State Constitutions, Revisions, and Amendments (2006).
- G. Alan Tarr and Robert F. Williams, eds., State Constitutions for the Twenty-first Century: The Agenda of State Constitutional Reform, 3 vols. (2006).
- Cary Federman, The Body and the State: Habeas Corpus and American Jurisprudence (2006).
- Christopher S. Kelley, ed., Executing the Constitution: Putting the President Back into the Constitution (2006).
- David Fagelson, Justice as Integrity: Tolerance and the Moral Momentum of Law (2006).
- Christopher Shortell, Rights, Remedies, and the Impact of State Sovereign Immunity (2008).
- Robert Blomquist, The Quotable Judge Posner (2010).
- Kirk A. Randazzo, Defenders of Liberty or Champions of Security? (2010).
- Pamela Corley, Concurring Opinion Writing on the U.S. Supreme Court (2010).
- Samuel Leiter and William Leiter, Affirmative Action in Antidiscrimination Law and Policy (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2010).
- Julia R. Azari, et al., eds., The Presidential Leadership Dilemma (2013).
- Stephen A. Simon, Universal Rights and the Constitution (2014).
- Kirk A. Randazzo and Richard W. Waterman, Checking the Courts (2014).
- Anthony Maniscalco, Public Spaces, Marketplaces, and the Constitution (2015).
- Goirgi Areshidze et al., eds., Constitutionalism, Executive Power, and the Spirit of Moderation (2016).
- Peter J. Galie, et al., eds., New York's Broken Constitution (2016).
- Robert J. Hume, Ethics and Accountability on the U.S. Supreme Court (2017).
- Michael A. Dichio, The U.S. Supreme Court and the Centralization of Federal Authority (2018).
- Clyde H. Ray, John Marshall's Constitutionalism (2019).
- Daniel P. Franklin, et al., The Politics of Presidential Impeachment (2020).

Robert M. Howard, et al., Power, Constraint, and Policy Change: Courts and Education Finance Reform (2021).

Mark C. Dillon, The First Chief Justice (2022).

Book Series Editor, Presidential Briefing Books, Routledge, 2015-present.

Mary Stuckey, Political Rhetoric (2015)

Michael A. Genovese, Presidential Leadership in an Age of Change (2015)

Christopher Fettweis, Making Foreign Policy Decisions (2016)

Nancy Maveety, Picking Judges (2016)

Richard S. Conley, Presidential Relations with Congress (2017)

Andrew L. Stigler, Governing the Military (2019)

Graham G. Dodds, The Unitary Presidency (2020)

Member, Board of Editors for the Encyclopedia of Guns in American Society, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003; second ed. 2011). Winner of the Booklist Editors' Choice Award for 2003, American Library Association.

Member, Board of Editors, Issues: Understanding Controversy and Society, ABC-CLIO, 2011-2016.

#### Book Chapters:

"Third Parties in New York," in Governing New York State (formerly New York State Today), ed. by Robert Pecorella and Jeffrey Stonecash (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1984, 1989, 1994, 2001, 2006). Chapter revised for second, third, fourth, and fifth editions.

"Gun Control: Constitutional Mandate or Myth," in Social Regulatory Policy: Recent Moral Controversies in American Politics, ed. by Raymond Tatalovich and Byron Daynes (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), 111-141.

"The President's Veto Power," in Inventing the American Presidency: Early Decisions and Critical Precedents, ed. by Thomas Cronin (Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 154-179.

"President and Congress," in The CQ Guide to the Presidency, ed. by Michael Nelson (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1989; revised for 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1996 and 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2002; 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 2007; 5<sup>th</sup> ed. 2012).

Nineteen entries in Encyclopedia of American Political Parties and Elections, ed. by L. Sandy Maisel (New York: Garland Pub., 1991): American Labor Party, Benjamin Bubar,



closed primary, Conservative Party, cross-endorsement rule, Free Soil Party, Greenback Party, Liberal Party, Liberty Party, John V. Lindsay, Allard K. Lowenstein, open primary, Right to Life Committee, Right to Life Party, Prohibition Party, Alex Rose, split ticket voting, telethons, Mary Jane Tobin.

Author of "Thought Boxes" for Theodore J. Lowi and Benjamin Ginsberg, American Government: Freedom and Power (NY: W.W. Norton, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998); 50 for 1st ed.; 30 additional for 2nd ed., 45 additional for 3rd ed.; 29 for 4th ed., 26 for 5<sup>th</sup>.

"Executive Vetoes," in Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System, ed. by Joel Silbey (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993).

"The Conflict Between Congress and the President Over War," in The Presidency and the Persian Gulf War, ed. by Marcia Whicker, Raymond Moore, and James Pfiffner (New York: Praeger, 1993).

"Is the Separation of Powers Obsolete?" in The Presidency Reconsidered, ed. by Richard W. Waterman (Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock, 1993); also in Understanding the Presidency, ed. by James Pfiffner and Roger Davidson (NY: Longman, 1997; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2000; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2002; 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 2006).

Seven entries in the Encyclopedia of the American Presidency, ed. by Leonard W. Levy and Louis Fisher (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1994), including "Council on Environmental Quality," "Office of Intergovernmental Relations," "Presentation Clause," "Signing Statements," "Item Veto," "Pocket Veto," "Regular Veto".

Two entries in the Encyclopedia of the United States Congress, ed. by Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1994), including "Separation of Powers" and "Presidential Veto".

"The President, Congress, and the Fulcrum of Foreign Policy," in The Constitution and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy, ed. by David Gray Adler, with an introduction by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 85-113.

"Resources Development in the EOP," in The Executive Office of the President, ed. by Harold Relyea (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997).

"Council on Environmental Quality," in the Oxford Historical Guide to American Government (NY: Oxford University Press, 1997).

"From Presidential Shield to 'Go Ahead, Make My Day': The Presidential Veto and the Constitutional Balance of Power," in Liberty Under Law, ed. by Kenneth Grasso and Cecilia R. Castillo (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997; 2nd ed. 1998).

"Multi-Party Politics in New York," in Multi-Party Politics and American Democracy, ed. by Paul Herrnson and John Green (Rowman & Littlefield, 1997; revised for second edition, 2002).

Author of "Cultures" and "Debates" boxes for Benjamin Ginsberg, Theodore Lowi, and Margaret Weir, We the People (NY: W.W. Norton, 1997, 1999). 19 for 1st ed.; 17 for 2nd ed.

"Gun Control: Constitutional Mandate or Myth?" in Moral Controversies in American Politics, ed. by Raymond Tatalovich and Byron Daynes (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998; 2005; 2010), 164-195. Revised for new editions.

"The Right to Life Party" and related entries in The Encyclopedia of American Third Parties, ed. by Immanuel Ness and James Ciment (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000).

"New York, New York: Start Spreadin' the News," in Prayers in the Precincts, ed. by John Green, Mark Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2000).

"The Clinton Crisis and Its Consequences for the Presidency," in The Clinton Scandal and the Future of American Politics, ed. by Mark Rozell and Clyde Wilcox (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2000), 1-17.

"Saving the Constitution from Lawyers," in Politics and Constitutionalism, ed. by Spitzer (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2000).

"Gun Control and Policy" and "Veto Power" for the Encyclopedia of American Political History, ed. by Paul Finkelman (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 2000).

"Article I, Section 7," in The Constitution and Its Amendments, ed. by Roger Newman (NY: Macmillan, 2001).

"Lost and Found: Researching the Second Amendment," in The Second Amendment in Law and History, ed. by Carl Bogus (NY: The New Press, 2001), 16-47.

"Veto Power" in The Oxford Companion To United States History ed. by Paul Boyer (NY: Oxford University Press, 2001).

"The Independent Counsel and the Post-Clinton Presidency" in The Presidency and the Law: The Clinton Legacy, ed. by David Adler and Michael Genovese (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 89-107.

“The Veto King: The ‘Dr. No’ Presidency of George Bush,” in Honor and Loyalty: Inside the Politics of the Bush White House, ed. by Leslie Feldman and Rosanna Perotti (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 233-53.

Fifty-two entries in the Encyclopedia of Guns in American Society, ed. by Gregg Lee Carter (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003; second ed. 2011): including AWARE, assault weapons, Assault Weapons ban of 1994, automatic weapons laws, background checks, Brady Law, Harlon Carter, Eddie Eagle, Federation for NRA, Firearms Owners Protection Act of 1986, NRA-ILA, LSAS, Licensing, MMM, MAVIA, National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, National Guard, NRA, NRA PVF, Presser v. Illinois, Quilici v. Morton Grove, Safety Courses, SAS, semiautomatic weapons, speedloaders, Turner Diaries, Waiting Periods.

Nine entries for the Encyclopedia of the American Presidency, ed. by Michael Genovese (NY: Facts on File, 2004): Edward Corwin, Council on Environmental Quality, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, Persian Gulf War, legislative veto, presentation clause, item veto, pocket veto, veto.

“Third Parties,” “Presidents,” and “The Right to Life Party” for The Encyclopedia of New York State, ed. by Peter Eisenstadt (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004).

“Gun Rights for Terrorists? Gun Control and the Bush Presidency,” Transformed By Crisis: The Presidency of George W. Bush and American Politics, ed. by Jon Kraus, Kevin McMahon, and David Rankin (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 141-165.

“The Presidential Veto Is An Effective Tool for Governing,” in Debating the Presidency, Robert P. Watson and David Freeman, eds. (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 2005).

“Veto: The Power to Say ‘No,’” in Thinking About the Presidency, ed. by Gary L. Gregg (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

“The ‘Protective Return’ Pocket Veto: Presidential Aggrandizement of Constitutional Power,” Executing the Constitution, ed. By Chris Kelley (Albany: SUNY Press, 2006), 109-126.

“Gun Violence and Gun Control,” in Social Issues in America: An Encyclopedia, 8 vols., ed. By James Ciment (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006).

“The Commander-in-Chief Power and Constitutional Invention in the Bush Administration,” The Presidency and the Challenge of Democracy, ed. By Michael Genovese and Lori Cox Han (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 93-117.

“Right to Bear Arms,” Encyclopedia of American Civil Liberties, 4 vols., ed. By Paul

Finkelman (NY: Routledge, 2006).

“Gun Violence is a Serious Problem,” Gun Violence: Opposing Viewpoints, Margaret Haerens, ed. (New York: Thomson Gale, 2006).

“The Commander-in-Chief Power in the George W. Bush Administration,” Presidential Power in America, ed. By Lawrence R. Velvel (Andover, MA: Doukathsan Press, 2007).

“Presidential Veto” and “Gun Control,” Encyclopedia of American Government and Civics ed. Michael Genovese and Lori Cox Han (New York: Facts-on-File, 2008).

“Gerald R. Ford,” Encyclopedia of Political Communication ed. By Lynda Lee Kaid and Christina Holtz-Bacha (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Pubs., 2008).

“Leading Elite Opinion: Law Reviews and the Distortion of Scholarship,” in Leadership at the Crossroads, Vol 2, “Leadership and Politics,” ed. By Michael Genovese and Lori Cox Han (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008).

“Gun Control Policy,” in Encyclopedia of Issues in U.S. Public Policy, ed. By Mark Rushefsky (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Publishing, 2009).

“‘Hot’ and ‘Not-So-Hot’ Buttons in the 2008 Presidential Election,” in Winning the Presidency 2008, William Crotty, ed. (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2009).

“Resolved, that the President Should Not be Given a Line Item Veto,” in Debating Reform: Conflicting Perspectives on How to Fix the American Political System, Richard Ellis and Michael Nelson, eds. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010; revised for 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2013).

“Looking Through the Other End of the Telescope: Playing in Lowi’s Arenas,” in Political Science as Public Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Theodore J. Lowi, Benjamin Ginsberg and Gwendolyn Mink, eds. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010).

“Why Do Americans Love Guns So Much, and Does Everyone Own One?” You Asked: 20 Questions About America, U.S. Department of State, 2010.

“Liberals and the Presidency,” Contending Approaches to the American Presidency, Michael Genovese, ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011).

“Is the Constitutional Presidency Obsolete?” The American Presidency in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Charles Dunn, ed. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2011).

“Gun Control,” in Governing America, ed. By Paul Quirk and William Cunion (New

York: Facts on File, 2011).

“Stricter Gun Laws are Reasonable and Sensible,” for Issues: Understanding Controversy and Society, ABC-CLIO, 2011. Web. 28 September.

“Gun Control,” Encyclopedia of Applied Ethics, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Vol. 2, Ruth Chadwick, ed. (San Diego: Academic Press/Elsevier, 2012), 538-44.

“Hot Button Issues in the Presidential Campaign: 47% Yes, Guns No?” Winning the Presidency 2012, William J. Crotty, ed. (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2013).

“Meaning of the Second Amendment: The Motives Behind the Second Amendment: Federalism and Military Preparedness.” American Government. ABC-CLIO, 2013. Web. September 10.

“Clinton and Gun Control: Boon or Bane?” A True Third Way? Domestic Policy and the Presidency of William Jefferson Clinton, Richard Himmelfarb, ed. (New York: Nova Publishers, 2014), 81-92.

“Gun Control,” American Governance, 5 vols. Stephen L. Schechter, ed. (Detroit: Macmillan, 2016).

“John Tyler and the Constitution,” American Presidents and the Constitution, Ken Gormley, ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2016).

“The Unitary Executive and the Bush Presidency,” The George W. Bush Presidency, Meena Bose, ed. (New York: Nova Publishers, 2016).

“Stricter Gun Laws are Reasonable and Sensible,” Gun Control in the United States: A Reference Handbook, Gregg Lee Carter, ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2017).

“Gun Policy Research: Personal Reflections on Public Questions,” Guns: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Politics, Policy, and Practice, Jennifer Carlson, Kristin Goss and Harel Shapira, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2019).

“Conclusion: The Five Rules of Trump,” Presidential Leadership and the Trump Presidency: Executive Power and Democratic Governance, Charles Lamb and Jacob Neihsel, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

“Looking Down the Barrel of the 2020 Elections,” The 2020 Presidential Election: Key Issues and Regional Dynamics, Luke Perry, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

“Gun Policy and Politics in America,” Developments in American Politics 9, Gillian

Peele, Bruce Cain, Jon Herbert, Andrew Wroe, eds. (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2022).

"To Brandish or Not to Brandish: The Consequences of Gun Display," New Histories of Gun Rights and Regulation: Essays on the Place of Guns in American Law and Society, Joseph Blocher, Jacob Charles, and Darrell A.H. Miller, eds. (NY: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

"How the NRA evolved from backing a 1934 ban on machine guns to blocking nearly all firearm restrictions today" and "US tragedies from guns have often – but not always – spurred political responses," The Conversation on Gun Control (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2023, forthcoming).

Articles:

"Jamestown: Anatomy of an All-American City," Sunday Buffalo Courier Express Magazine, August 24, 1975.

"The Democratic National Telethons: Their Successes and Failures," with John W. Ellwood, The Journal of Politics, 41 (August, 1979): 828-864.

"The Presidency and Public Policy: A Preliminary Inquiry," Presidential Studies Quarterly, 9 (Fall, 1979): 441-457.

"Presidential Policy Determinism: How Policies Frame Congressional Responses to the President's Legislative Program," Presidential Studies Quarterly, 13 (Fall, 1983): 556-574.

"A Political Party is Born: Single-Issue Advocacy and the Election Law in New York State," National Civic Review, 73(July/August, 1984): 321-328.

"More Parties Mean Better Parties," Party Line, 17 (September 1984).

"Shooting Down Gun Myths," America, June 8, 1985, pp. 468-69. Reprinted in: the Des Moines Register, October 24, 1985; Criminal Justice, ed. by Susan Bursell (St. Paul, MN: Greenhaven Press, 1986); U.S. News and World Report educational study unit on Gun Control, April/May, 1987; Gun Control, ed. by Robert Emmet Long (New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1989); and The Informed Argument, 2nd ed., 3rd ed., Robert K. Miller, ed. (NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1989, 1992).

"The Item Veto: A Bad Idea That Lives On," America, June 15, 1985.

"The Item Veto Reconsidered," Presidential Studies Quarterly 15(Summer, 1985):

611-17.

"Promoting Policy Theory: Revising the Arenas of Power" Policy Studies Journal, 15 (June 1987), 675-89. Reprinted in Public Policy Theories, Models, and Concepts, ed. by Daniel C. McCool (Prentice-Hall, 1995).

"A Course Module: The Politics of Abortion," NEWS for Teachers of Political Science, 53 (Spring, 1987).

"But for A Single Vote...," New York Delegate, July, 1987. Abridged version appeared on editorial page of the Rochester Times Union, 2/10/87.

"Multi-Party Politics in New York: A Cure for the Political System?", Election Politics, 5 (Summer, 1988): 14-16.

"From Complexity to Simplicity: More on Policy Theory and the Arenas of Power," Policy Studies Journal, 17 (Spring, 1989): 529-36.

"Complexity and Induction: Rejoinder to Kellow," Policy Studies Journal, 17(Spring, 1989): 547-49.

"Liberalism and Juridical Democracy," PS: Political Science and Politics, 23(December 1990): 572-74.

"Presidential Prerogative Power: The Case of the Bush Administration and Legislative Powers," PS: Political Science and Politics, 24 (March 1991): 38-42.

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Invited panelist and contributor to conference and report, Institute of Medicine and the National Research Council of the National Academies, “Committee on Priorities for a Public Health Research Agenda to Reduce the threat of Firearm-Related Violence,” National Academies Keck Center, 500 Fifth St., NW, Washington, DC, April 23, 2013.

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"The Reagan Presidency and the Veto Power: Symbols and Actions of the 'Make-My-Day' President," Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, GA, November 3-6, 1993.

"Tenure, Speech, and the Jeffries Case: A Functional Analysis," conference on academic Freedom and Tenure, sponsored by New York City Bar Association and Pace University Law School, New York City, March 8, 1994.

"'It's My Constitution, and I'll Cry If I Want To': Constitutional Dialogue, Interpretation, and Whim in the Inherent Item Veto Dispute," American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 31-September 3, 1995. Winner, 1996 Presidency Research Group Founders' Award for Best Paper on the Presidency presented at the 1995 APSA. Paper received mention in the Washington Post, September 24, 1995.

"Guns and Violence," presentation before Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church Task Force on Violence, Bryn Mawr, PA, October 8, 1995.

"Guns, Militias, and the Constitution," Distinguished Lecture Series, Utica College, Utica NY, March 26, 1996.

"The Right to Bear Arms: A Constitutional and Criminological Analysis of Gun Control," the Cornell University School of Law, October 8, 1996.

"The Veto King: The 'Dr. No' Presidency of George Bush," Conference on the Presidency of George Bush, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, April 17-19, 1997.

"Saving the Constitution from Lawyers," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1997.

"Revolution, the Second Amendment, and Charlton Heston," Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, October 30, 1997.

"Recent Developments in The Politics of Gun Control," Gettysburg College, Gettysburg,



PA, November 10, 1998.

“The Second Amendment, Disarmament, and Arms Control,” Communitarian Summit, the Washington National Airport Hilton, Arlington, VA, February 27-28, 1999.

“The Argument Against Clinton’s Impeachment,” Hyde Park Session, American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 2-5, 1999.

“Gun Politics After Littleton,” Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, November 9, 1999.

“Lost and Found: Researching the Second Amendment,” Symposium on “The Second Amendment: Fresh Looks,” Chicago-Kent Law School and the Joyce Foundation, Chicago, April 28, 2000.

“The Independent Counsel and the Presidency After Clinton,” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31-September 3, 2000.

“From Columbine to Santee: Gun Control in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Idaho State University, Pocatello, Idaho, April 19, 2001.

“Gun Control in the New Millennium,” Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, November 13, 2001.

“Gun Rights for Terrorists? Gun Control and the Bush Presidency,” A Presidency Transformed By Crises: The George W. Bush Presidency, SUNY Fredonia, NY, October 17-18, 2002.

“Gun Control and the Bush Presidency,” Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, November 21, 2002.

“The Ashcroft Justice Department and the Second Amendment,” American Bar Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, August 8-11, 2003.

“The Bush Presidency and 9/11,” Keynote Address, Conference on 9/11, Cazenovia College, NY, September 11, 2003.

“Report of the National Task Force on Presidential Communication to Congress,” co-author, Tenth Annual Texas A&M Conference on Presidential Rhetoric, George Bush Presidential Library and Conference Center, College Station, TX, March 4-7, 2004.

“Don’t Know Much About History, Politics, or Law: Comment,” Conference on The Second Amendment and the Future of Gun Regulation, co-sponsored by the Fordham School of Law, the Second Amendment Research Center, and the John Glenn Institute

for Public Service and Public Policy of the Ohio State University, April 13, 2004, New York City.

“Bush vs. Kerry: Election of the Century?” Colgate University, Hamilton, NY, October 20, 2004.

“The Commander-in-Chief Power and Constitutional Invention in the Bush Administration,” a paper presented at a Conference on “Is the Presidency Dangerous to Democracy?”, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA, February 7, 2005.

Participant, “The Wheler Family Address on International Relations,” Academic Conference on World Affairs, Cazenovia College, Cazenovia, NY, September 9, 2005.

“What Ever Happened to Gun Control?”, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, November 1, 2005.

“Clinton and Gun Control: Boon or Bane?” a paper presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> Presidential Conference on William Jefferson Clinton, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, November 10-12, 2005.

“George W. Bush and the Unitary Executive,” Keynote Address for “Quest,” SUNY Oswego Scholars Day, April 19, 2006.

“Resolving Conflict with Intractable Foes: The Lessons of International Relations Theory Applied to the Modern Gun Control Debate,” Bryant University, Smithfield, RI, April 24, 2006.

“The Unitary Executive and the Commander-in-Chief Power,” Conference on Presidential Power in America: The Constitution, the Defense of a Nation and the National Ethos, Massachusetts School of Law Conference Series, Andover, MA, October 14-15, 2006.

“The 2006 Elections,” LeMoyne College, Syracuse, NY, November 29, 2006.

“In Wartime, Who Has the Power?” Symposium on Presidential Power and the Challenge to Democracy, Idaho State University, Pocatello, ID, April 26, 2007.

“Saul Cornell’s Second Amendment: Why History Matters,” Conference on Firearms, the Militia and Safe Cities: Merging History, Constitutional Law, and Public Policy, Albany Law School, Albany, NY, October 18-19, 2007.

“Gun Control and the 2008 Elections,” Third Annual Harry F. Guggenheim Symposium on Crime in America, John Jay College, New York City, December 3-4, 2007.

“The Post-Cold War Vice Presidency,” Cornell Adult University, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, July 31, 2008.

“Is the Presidency Constitutional?” Roundtable panel on Restoring the Constitutional Presidency, APSA, Boston, August 28-31, 2008.

“The Future of the American Presidency,” Board of the Bristol Statehouse, Bristol, RI, November 30, 2008.

“Is the Constitutional Presidency Obsolete? The Future of the American Presidency,” Symposium on The Future of the American Presidency, Regent University, Virginia Beach, VA, February 6, 2009.

“The Failure of the Pro-Gun Control Movement,” SUNY Oneonta, March 19, 2009.

“The Post-Bush Presidency and the Constitutional Order,” American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 3-6, 2009.

“Inventing Gun Rights: The Supreme Court, the Second Amendment, and Incorporation,” SUNY Geneseo, March 24, 2010.

“Intelligence Don’t Matter,” Keynote Address to Phi Kappa Phi Induction Ceremony, SUNY Cortland, April 17, 2010.

“The Law and Politics of Gun Control after Tucson,” 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Harry Frank Guggenheim Symposium on Crime in America, conference on “Law and Disorder: Facing the Legal and Economic Challenges to American Criminal Justice,” John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY, New York City, January 31-February 1, 2011.

“Looking Ahead to the 2012 Elections,” Tompkins County Democratic Committee, Ithaca, NY, August 7, 2011.

“Growing Executive Power: The Strange Case of the ‘Protective Return’ Pocket Veto,” American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011.

“Gun Control and the Second Amendment,” OASIS Conference, Syracuse, NY, October 3, 2011

“Comparing the Constitutional Presidencies of George W. Bush and Barack Obama: War Powers, Signing Statements, Vetoes,” conference on “Change in the White House? Comparing the Presidencies of George W. Bush and Barack Obama,” Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, April 19, 2012.

“Watergate After 40 Years: Dick Cheney’s Revenge,” American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, August 30-September 2, 2012.

“The Media, American Elections, and Democracy,” OASIS, Syracuse, NY, October 22, 2012.

“Hot Button Issues in the 2012 Presidential Campaign,” Hiram College Conference on the 2012 Elections, Hiram, Ohio, November 15-17, 2012.

“Gun Legislation and Obstacles to Effective Gun Control,” Metropolitan Black Bar Association, New York City Bar Association, November 29, 2012.

“Guns and America,” Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, February 19, 2013.

“The Constitution Between Opponents,” conference on “The State of the Presidency,” Andrus Center for Public Policy, Boise State University, Boise, ID, February 28, 2013.

“Gun Policy at a Crossroads,” Thursday Morning Roundtable, Syracuse, NY, March 7, 2013.

“Gun Policy Cycles and History,” Pediatric Grand Rounds at the Upstate Golisano Children’s Hospital, Syracuse, NY, March 13, 2013.

“Gun Law and the Constitution,” Monroe County Bar Association, Rochester, NY, March 21, 2013.

“The Architecture of the Gun Control Debate,” Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs, Colby College, Waterville, ME, April 2, 2013.

“The Campbell Debates: This Assembly Supports the NY SAFE Act,” Syracuse University, April 5, 2013.

“What has Sandy Hook Changed? The Evolving Gun Debate,” Reisman Lecture Series, Cazenovia College, Cazenovia, NY, April 17, 2013.

“Gun Policy Change: Infringing Rights, or Following History?” Jefferson Community College, Watertown, NY, April 18, 2013.

“Under the Gun,” Conference on “Gun Violence, Gun Laws, and the Media,” Center on Media, Crime and Justice, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, May 14-15, 2013.

“Five Myths of the Gun Debate,” Lawman of the Year, Cortland County Lawman Committee, Cortland, NY, May 20, 2013.

“Gun Law History,” Sterling Historical Society, Sterling, NY, June 27, 2013.

“Analyzing the New York SAFE Act,” League of Women Voters Forum, Cortland, NY, September 12, 2013.

“Constitution Day, the Second Amendment, and Guns,” OASIS, Syracuse, NY, September 16, 2013.

“The Second Amendment and Guns in America,” Values, Arts, and Ideas Series Constitution Day Speaker, Manchester University, North Manchester, Indiana, September 17, 2013.

“Live By History, Die By History: The Second Amendment, Heller, and Gun Policy,” Georgetown University, Washington, DC, October 18, 2013.

“American Gun Policy,” “Gun Violence: A Comparative Perspective,” and “American History and Foreign Policy, 1960-1990,” King’s College, London, England; Southbank Centre, “Superpower Weekend,” November 8-11, 2013.

“Gun Politics and the Electoral Process,” Oneida County Women’s Democratic Club and County Committee, Utica, NY, November 17, 2013.

“The Second Amendment and the Hidden History of Gun Laws,” Institute for Legislative Studies, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, NC, November 20-21, 2013.

“The Future of Gun Regulation After Newtown,” Fordham University, New York, NY, January 21, 2014.

“The 2014 Elections: The End of the Obama Era?” 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Chautauqua, Homer, NY, August 3, 2014.

“New York State and the NY SAFE Act: A Case Study in Strict Gun Laws,” conference on “A Loaded Debate: The Right to Keep and Bear Arms in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Albany Law School, Albany, NY, October 9, 2014.

“Is Gun Control Un-American or at Least Unconstitutional?” Temple Concord, Syracuse, NY, October 14, 2014.

“The American Gun Debate is Under Water,” TEDxCortland Talk, Hathaway House, Solon, NY, October 25, 2014.

“The Unitary Executive and the Bush Presidency,” Conference on the Presidency of George W. Bush,” Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, March 24-26, 2015.

“Assessing the Obama Presidency,” Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, April 1-3, 2015.

“Gun Laws, Gun Policies, and the Second Amendment,” Central New York Council of the Social Studies Professional Development Day Conference, Carnegie Conference Center, Syracuse, NY, October 20, 2015.

“The 2016 Elections,” The Cornell Club of Cortland County, November 17, 2015, Cortland, NY.

“Gun Law History in the U.S. and Second Amendment Rights,” Conference on The Second Amendment: Legal and Policy Issues, New York University Law School and the Brennan Center for Justice, New York City, April 8, 2016.

“The Presidential Elections,” The Century Club, June 7, 2016, Syracuse, NY.

“The 2016 Elections,” Chautauqua, August 3, 2016, Homer, NY.

“The 2016 Elections” Cortland Rotary, Cortland, N.Y. September 20, 2016.

“The 2016 Elections,” Cortland Community Roundtable, October 6, 2016.

“TrumPocalypse 2016,” Finger Lakes Forum, Geneva, N.Y., October 16, 2016.

“The 2016 Elections,” Homer Congregational Church, Homer, N.Y., October 30, 2016.

“Had Enough? Only Five More Days,” OASIS, November 3, 2016, Syracuse, N.Y.

“Guns for Everyone?” OASIS, November 14, 2016, Syracuse, N.Y.

“Sizing Up the Trump Presidency,” Cortland County Democratic Party, June 1, 2017.

“Understanding Impeachment,” Ladies Literary Society, Lafayette, NY, June 7, 2017.

“Guns Across America,” Ithaca College, Ithaca, NY, September 21, 2017.

Guest panelist, “Gun Studies Symposium,” University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, October 20, 2017.

“Gun Policy and Schools After Parkland,” SUNY Student Assembly Annual Conference, Syracuse, NY, April 7, 2018.

“Gun Laws, History, and the Second Amendment: What Does the Constitution Allow?” Clemson University, SC, April 17, 2018.

“Gun Violence and the History of Gun Laws,” League of Women Voters of Tompkins County, Ithaca, NY, May 23, 2018.

“The Unknown History of Gun Laws in America,” Madison-Chenango Call to Action, Hamilton, NY, June 20, 2018.

“It’s All Academic: The Meaning of the Second Amendment Versus Heller,” Conference on “The Second Amendment: Its Meaning and Implications in Modern America,” Lincoln Memorial University School of Law, Knoxville, TN, January 18, 2019.

“Mulling Over the Mueller Report,” Indivisible Cortland County, Homer, NY, June 15, 2019.

“Gun Accessories and the Second Amendment: Assault Weapons, Magazines, and Silencers,” Symposium on Gun Rights and Regulation Outside the Home, Duke University, Durham, NC, September 27, 2019.

“Gun Policy 101: What Policymakers and the Public Need to Know,” Rockefeller Institute of Government, Albany, NY, October 1, 2019.

Guest expert, Federalist Society Teleforum on *New York State Rifle and Pistol Association v. NYC*, November 22, 2019.

“To Brandish or Not to Brandish: The Consequences of Gun Display,” Duke University Law School Conference on Historical Gun Laws, June 19, 2020 (virtual).

“The 2020 Elections,” Cortland Country Club, October 14, 2020.

Panelist, “Gun Law, Politics, and Policy,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 14-17, 2021 (virtual).

“Gun Violence,” Beaches Watch, Florida, August 4, 2021 (virtual).

“Challenging Conversations: Gun Control,” Lockdown University (virtual), April 5, 2022.

“Scholars’ Circle: Gun Control,” June 30, 2022 (virtual).

“Gun Rules and Regulations,” Clubhouse AverPoint, July 2, 2022 (virtual).

“A Nation in Crisis: Are Guns the Problem?” Center for Ethics and Human Values’ Civil Discourse Forum, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, September 23, 2022.

“Explaining the 2022 Midterm Elections,” OSHER Lifelong Learning Institute at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., October 13, 2022.

“The Gun Rights 2.0 Movement: Public Policy Consequences,” 2022 National Research Conference on Firearm Injury Prevention, Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., November 29-December 1, 2022.

Panel Participation:

Discussant, "Historical Transformations of Political Institutions in the U.S.," Social Science History Association, Rochester, N.Y., November 7-9, 1980.

Chair, "The Political Economy of Single Issue Movements," 1981 American Political Science Association, New York City, September 3-6.

Discussant, "New York Republicans: An Emerging Majority Party?," New York State Political Science Association, Albany, N.Y., April 2-3, 1982.

Round table panel member, "Perspectives on the Reagan Administration," New York State Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., April 8-9, 1983.

Discussant, "Toward a Theory of the Chief Executive," 1983 American Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill., September 1-4, 1983.

Chair and Discussant, "Political Parties and Party Organization," 1984 American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30 - September 2, 1984.

Discussant, "Reforming the Presidential Selection Process," New York State Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., April 25-26, 1985.

Chair, "Theoretical Approaches to Policy Concerns," American Political Science Association, New Orleans, La., August 29 - September 1, 1985.

Discussant, "Perspectives on Presidential Influence," American Political Science Association, New Orleans, La., August 29 - September 1, 1985.



Discussant, "The Item Veto," American Political Science Association, New Orleans, La., August 29 - September 1, 1985.

Chair, "Mobilizing Interests on National Policies," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1986.

Discussant, "The News Media and American Politics," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1986.

Chair, "Perspectives on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution," New York State Political Science Association, New York City, April 3-4, 1987.

Discussant, "The Presidency in Comparative Perspective," and "Media and Models of Public Policy-Making," American Political Science Association, Atlanta, Aug. 31 - Sept. 3, 1989.

Discussant, "Presidents and Economic Interests," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 29 - September 1, 1991.

Panel Chair, "The Presidential Role in Policy Making," American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 3-6, 1992.

Discussant, "Presidential Influence on Congress," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2-5, 1993.

Discussant, "Bureaucratic Politics," Southern Political Science Association, November 3-6, 1993.

Discussant, "The President's Extra-Constitutional Power," American Political Science Association, New York City, September 1-4, 1994.

Discussant, "Roundtable on the President and Congress in a Republican Age," Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, March 14-16, 1996.

Chair, "Militias, the Second Amendment, and the State: Constitutional, Social, and Historical Implications," American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 29-September 1, 1996.

Chair, "Roundtable on Teaching the Presidency," American Political Science Association, August 29-September 1, 1996.

Chair, "The Constitutionalism and Presidentialism of Louis Fisher," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1997.

Chair, "The President as Legislative Leader," American Political Science Association, Boston, September 3-6, 1998.

Chair, Roundtable on "Memo to the President," American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 2-5, 1999.

Discussant, "Firearms in the U.S.," Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 27-30, 2000.

Chair and discussant, Roundtable on "Is the Presidency Changed?" APSA, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2001.

Chair and discussant, "Presidential Use of Strategic Tools," APSA, Boston, August 29 - Sept. 1, 2002.

Discussant, "Executing the Constitution," APSA, Boston, August 29 - Sept. 1, 2002.

Chair, "Marketing the President," APSA, Philadelphia, August 28-31, 2003.

Discussant, "Media Coverage of the Presidency," APSA, Philadelphia, August 28-31, 2003.

Chair and discussant, "Does Presidential Leadership in Foreign Policy Matter?" APSA, Chicago, September 2-5, 2004.

Roundtable member, "The Ins and Outs of Obtaining a Book Contract," APSA, Chicago, September 2-5, 2004.

Discussant, "Presidential Power: Lessons From the Past," APSA, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005.

Chair and Discussant, "The Unitary Executive in a Separated System," APSA, Philadelphia, August 31-September 3, 2006.

Panel chair, "The Culpability of Congress," Conference on Presidential Power in America: The Constitution, the Defense of a Nation and the National Ethos, Massachusetts School of Law Conference Series, Andover, MA, October 14-15, 2006.

Panel chair, "Keeping the Modern Presidency in Check and Balance," APSA, Chicago, August 30-September 2, 2007.

Discussant, "Presidential Endings: George W. Bush and the Final Two Years," APSA,

Chicago, August 30-September 2, 2007.

Discussant, "Staffing and Decisionmaking in the White House," APSA, Boston, August 28-31, 2008.

Panel Chair, "Early Assessments of the Obama Presidency," APSA, Washington, D.C., September 2-5, 2010.

Discussant, "Historical Perspectives on the Presidency," APSA, Chicago, August 29-Sept. 1, 2013.

Discussant, "Politics and Presidential Travel," APSA, Washington, D.C., August 27-31, 2014.

Discussant, "The Obama Presidency and Constitutional Law," APSA, San Francisco, Sept. 3-6, 2015.

Discussant, "Presidents, the Courts and the Law," APSA, Philadelphia, Sept. 1-4, 2016.

Discussant, "Executive Power and Democratic Functioning in the Trump Era," APSA, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018.

Panel chair, "Assessing the Presidency of Donald Trump," APSA, Washington, DC, August 29-September 1, 2019.

Roundtable, "Gun Law, Politics, and Policy," Midwest Political Science Association, April 17, 2021 (virtual).

Roundtable, "Guns and the Political Moment: Political Violence, Self-Defense, and Reckoning with Race," Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 7, 2022.

#### Book Reviews:

The American Presidency, by Richard M. Pious, reviewed in The Journal of Politics, November, 1979.

The Politics of Mistrust, by Aaron Wildavsky and Ellen Tenenbaum, reviewed in Administrative Science Quarterly, December, 1981.

Review essay, The President as Policymaker, by Laurence E. Lynn and David DeF. Whitman, review essay in Administrative Science Quarterly, March, 1982.

PL94-142: An Act of Congress, by Erwin L. Levine and Elizabeth M. Wexler, reviewed in the American Political Science Review, June, 1982.

Pure Politics and Impure Science, by Arthur M. Silverstein, reviewed in Administrative Science Quarterly, June, 1984.

Review essay, The President's Agenda, by Paul Light, reviewed in Administrative Science Quarterly, September, 1984.

The Evolution of American Electoral Systems, by Paul Kleppner, et al., reviewed in the American Political Science Review, December, 1983.

A Case of Third Party Activism, by James Canfield, reviewed in Perspective, July-August, 1984.

Winners and Losers: Campaigns, Candidates and Congressional Elections, by Stuart Rothenberg, reviewed in the American Political Science Review, December, 1984.

The Political Presidency, by Barbara Kellerman, reviewed in Perspective, January-February, 1985.

Presidents and Promises, by Jeff Fishel, reviewed in the American Political Science Review, December, 1985.

The Elections of 1984, ed. by Michael Nelson, reviewed in Perspective, May/June, 1985.

Economic Conditions and Electoral Outcomes, by Heinz Eulau and Michael S. Lewis-Beck, reviewed in Perspective, May/June, 1986.

Presidential Transitions: Eisenhower Through Reagan, by Carl M. Brauer, in Perspective, January/February, 1987.

Religion and Politics in the United States, by Kenneth D. Wald, in Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, September, 1988.

Abortion and Divorce in Western Law, by Mary Ann Glendon, in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1988.

The American Political Economy, by Douglas Hibbs, in Perspective, Spring, 1988.

God in the White House, by Richard G. Hutcheson, Jr., in Perspective, Fall, 1988.

The Reagan Legacy, Charles O. Jones, ed., in Social Science Quarterly, June, 1989.

Dilemmas of Presidential Leadership From Washington Through Lincoln by Richard Ellis and Aaron Wildavsky, in Perspective, September, 1989.

Taming the Prince by Harvey Mansfield, Jr., in Governance, April, 1990.

Public Policy and Transit System Management, ed. by George M. Guess, in Perspective, Spring, 1991.

The Myth of Scientific Public Policy, by Robert Formaini, in Perspective, Winter, 1992.

The Bush Presidency: First Appraisals, ed. by Colin Campbell and Bert Rockman in Public Administration Review, May/June, 1992.

The Illusion of a Conservative Reagan Revolution, by Larry Schwab, in Policy Currents, May, 1992.

The Vital South: How Presidents Are Elected, by Earl Black and Merle Black, in Perspective, Fall, 1993.

The Presidential Pulse of Congressional Elections, by James E. Campbell, in The Journal of American History, March, 1995.

Out of Order, by Thomas Patterson, in Presidential Studies Quarterly, Summer, 1994.

Congress, the President, and Policymaking, by Jean Schroedel, in the American Political Science Review, December, 1994.

The President and the Parties, by Sidney Milkis, in Governance, January 1995.

The Myth of the Modern Presidency, by David K. Nichols, PRG Report, Spring, 1995.

The End of the Republican Era, by Theodore Lowi, The Journal of American History, December, 1995.

Strategic Disagreement: Stalemate in American Politics by John B. Gilmour, in Governance (9), 1996.

Rivals For Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations, by James Thurber, in American Political Science Review, March, 1997.

American Presidential Elections, ed. by Harvey Schantz, in Perspectives, Spring 1997.

The Power of Separation by Jessica Korn, in Congress & the Presidency, Spring 1997.

Strong Presidents by Philip Abbott, in Perspective, Fall 1997.

Other People's Money: Policy Change, Congress, and Bank Regulation, by Jeffrey Worsham, in Perspectives, Spring 1998.

A Third Choice, in Journal of American History, December 1998.

Politics, Power and Policy Making: The Case of Health Care Reform in the 1990s, by Mark Rushefsky and Kant Patel in Perspectives, Winter 1999.

The Paradoxes of the American Presidency, by Thomas Cronin and Michael Genovese, for the American Political Science Review, March 1999.

Republic of Denial, by Michael Janeway, for Perspectives, Spring 2000.

The Art of Political Warfare, by John Pitney, Rhetoric and Public Affairs, Summer 2001.

Arming America, by Michael Bellesiles, Congress Monthly, January/February 2002.

Gun Violence in America by Alexander DeConde, Law and Politics Book Review, August 2001; also in Historynewsnetwork.org, 8/01.

Presidents as Candidates, by Kathryn D. Tenpas, in Rhetoric and Public Affairs, Spring 2002.

The Trouble With Government, by Derek Bok, Perspectives, Spring 2002.

King of the Mountain, by Arnold M. Ludwig, Rhetoric and Public Affairs, Winter 2002.

Power, the Presidency, and the Preamble, by Robert M. Saunders, Presidential Studies Quarterly, December 2002.

Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy, ed. by Stephen Haggard and Mathew McCubbins, Perspectives, Winter 2003.

The Modern American Presidency, by Lewis L. Gould, Rhetoric and Public Affairs.

Watergate: The Presidential Scandal that Shook America, by Keith W. Olson, Perspectives, Summer 2003.

The Militia and the Right to Arms, or, How the Second Amendment Fell Silent, by H.

Richard Uviller and William G. Merkel, Journal of American History, March 2004.

Power Without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action, by William G. Howell, Perspectives on Politics, June 2004.

The George W. Bush Presidency: An Early Assessment, ed. By Fred Greenstein, Perspectives, Spring 2004.

The Invention of the United States Senate, by Daniel Wirls and Stephen Wirls, Perspectives, Summer 2004.

The Mythic Meanings of the Second Amendment, by David C. Williams, Law and Politics Book Review, April 2004.

Empowering the White House, by Karen M. Hult and Charles E. Walcott, Rhetoric and Public Affairs, Fall 2005.

Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity, by Mary E. Stuckey, Perspectives, Spring 2005.

Presidential Leadership: Rating the Best and Worst in the White House, ed. By James Taranto and Leonard Leo, Rhetoric and Public Affairs, Summer 2006.

A Well-Regulated Militia: The Founding Fathers and the Origins of Gun Control in America, by Saul Cornell, American Journal of Legal History, October 2006.

The Founders' Second Amendment: Origins of the Right to Bear Arms, by Stephen Halbrook, Law and Politics Book Review 18(October 2008).

Out of the Shadow: George H.W. Bush and the End of the Cold War, by Christopher Maynard, Journal of American History (September 2009).

Guns, Democracy, and the Insurrectionist Idea, by Joshua Horwitz, Law and Politics Book Review 19(June 2009).

Talking Together, by Lawrence Jacobs, Fay Lomax Cook, and Michael Delli Carpini, dailykos.com, posted June 20, 2009, with Glenn Altschuler.

Accidental Presidents, by Philip Abbott, Presidential Studies Quarterly, June 2010.

The Co-Presidency of Bush and Cheney, by Shirley Anne Warshaw, Congress and the Presidency, 2010.

Crisis and Command: The History of Executive Power from George Washington to George W. Bush, by John Yoo, Presidential Studies Quarterly (December 2010).

Declaring War: Congress, the President, and What the Constitution Does Not Say, by Brien Hallett, Law and Politics Book Review 22(November 2012).

Congress vs. the Bureaucracy: Muzzling Agency Public Relations, by Mordecai Lee, The Journal of American History (December 2012).

Arming and Disarming, by R. Blake Brown, Law and History Review (November 2013).

Reclaiming Accountability: Transparency, Executive Power, and the U.S. Constitution, by Heidi Kitrosser, Congress and the Presidency 42(2015).

The Six-Shooter State: Public and Private Violence in American Politics by Jonathan Obert and The Lives of Guns ed. by Jonathan Obert, Andrew Poe and Austin Sarat, Perspectives on Politics 17(September 2019).

The Toughest Gun Law in the Nation by James B. Jacobs and Zoe Fuhr, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice Books, March 2020.

Warped Narratives: Distortion in the Framing of Gun Policy by Melissa K. Merry, Perspectives on Politics 18(September 2020).

The Uses and Misuses of Politics: Karl Rove and the Bush Presidency by William G. Mayer, Presidential Studies Quarterly (December 2022).

#### Selected Media Appearances/Quotations:

NBC's "Today Show"; ABC's "Good Morning America" and "Network Nightly News"; PBS's "News Hour"; CNN's "Lou Dobbs," "NewsStand," "CNN & Co." CNN's HLN, and "Insight"; CNBC's "Upfront Tonight"; MSNBC's "Countdown with Keith Olbermann," "All In With Chris Hayes," "Ali Velshi," "Fresh Air With Terry Gross," "The Diane Rehm Show," 1A with Joshua Johnson, NPR; NHK Television (Japan); CGTN (China), documentary films "Guns and Mothers" (PBS, 2003), "Under the Gun" (Katie Couric Film Company, Epix, 2016), "The Price of Freedom" (Flatbush Pictures/Tribeca Films, 2021). Quoted in or by the New York Times, the Washington Post, Time Magazine, Newsweek, Der Spiegel (Germany), USA Today, the Los Angeles Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Christian Science Monitor, the Boston Globe, the Chicago Tribune, the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Miami Herald, Houston Chronicle, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, San Francisco Chronicle, the Dallas Morning News, the Baltimore Sun, the Detroit Free Press, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Newsday, the Denver Post,



Kansas City Star, Dallas News, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, New Orleans Times Picayune, Orlando Sentinel, Columbus Dispatch, Buffalo News, San Jose Mercury News, Albany Times-Union, St. Petersburg Times, Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, Newark Star-Ledger, Bergen Record, Congress Daily, The Hill, CQ Report, Rolling Stone, The Nation, Ladies Home Journal, the National Journal, The Spectator, Legal Times, Financial Times, Toronto Globe, al Jazeera, Reuters, Bloomberg News, Knight Ridder, AP, Gannett, Newhouse, Scripps Howard, McClatchy, Hearst, the BBC (Britain), CBC (Canada), the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, ABC News Online, Fox News Online, National Public Radio, CBS Radio, media outlets in South Korea, India, Brazil, Denmark, Spain, France, Norway, Germany.

Regular panelist on “The Ivory Tower,” a weekly public affairs program broadcast on WCNY-TV, Syracuse, NY, from 2002-2021. A half hour discussion of the week’s events conducted by five academics from area colleges.

#### Professional Associations:

Scholars Strategy Network.  
American Political Science Association.  
Center for the Study of the Presidency.  
Presidents and Executive Politics Section (formerly the Presidency Research Group),  
APSA; served on Governing Board of PRG, 1991 to 2003.  
New York Political Science Association.  
Pi Sigma Alpha.  
Phi Kappa Phi.

#### Teaching Areas:

American Government: courses taught include Introduction to American Government, The Legislative Process, Political Parties and Social Movements, The American Presidency, Media and Politics, Gun Control Politics and Policy, State and Local Government, Abortion Politics, Elections and American Politics, Media and War, internships in Washington, D.C., Albany, and Cortland County, Seminars on the Decline of Parties and Third Parties, American Institutions, Current Developments in American Politics, and Introduction to College Life.

Public Policy: courses taught include Introduction to Public Policy, Gun Policy. Areas of interest include policy theory, policy formation and decisionmaking, and policy implementation.

Teaching-Related Awards:

Three-time recipient of the SUNY Cortland Student Government Association Outstanding Faculty Award (the "DiGiusto Award"), 1987, 1991, and 2003, for "Outstanding Service to Students." (The only faculty member ever to win this award more than once.)

Other Professional Activities

External Reviewer, University of Michigan-Dearborn, Project to Expand Promotion and Tenure Guidelines (PTIE) to Inclusively Recognize Innovation and Entrepreneurial Impact, 2021.

Member, Howard Penniman Graduate Scholarship Selection Committee, Pi Sigma Alpha, 2018.

Member, Advisory Board of Pi Sigma Alpha Undergraduate Journal of Politics, 2014-2016.

Executive Council, Pi Sigma Alpha National Board, 2014-18.

Fund and organizing leader for American Political Science Association's new Distinguished Teaching Award, 2011-12.

Chair, Presidency Research Group Task Force on Membership and Recruitment, 2007-08.

Chair, Richard E. Neustadt Award Committee for Best Book on the Presidency published in 2005, Presidency Research Group, 2006.

President, Presidency Research Group, American Political Science Association, 2001-2003; Vice-President 1999-2001.

Chair, Best Paper Award Committee, Presidency Research Group, American Political Science Association, for 1991 and 1992 conferences.

Member, Governing Board of the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association, 1991-2003.

Editor, PRG Report, 1993-1997.

Board of Editors, State University of New York Press, 1993-1996; 1997-2000. Board Chair, 1998-2000.

Member, Leonard D. White Award Committee for Best Dissertation in Public Administration, American Political Science Association, 1995.

Conference Organizing Committee, "Presidential Power: Forging the Presidency for the 21st Century," Columbia University, November 15-16, 1996.

Chair, E.E. Schattschneider Award Committee, best doctoral dissertation in American Politics, American Political Science Association, 1997.

Secretary/Treasurer, Presidency Research Group, 1997-99.

Book and article reviews for Houghton Mifflin, Cengage Learning, Random House, McGraw-Hill, St. Martins, W.W. Norton, Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, University of Chicago Press, University of California Press, Princeton University Press, Cornell University Press, UNC Press, Pearson Longman, Allyn & Bacon, Palgrave/Macmillan, University of New Mexico Press, Texas A&M University Press, Chatham House, CQ Press, HarperCollins, SUNY Press, Thompson Wadsworth, University of Michigan Press, University of Missouri Press, Westview Press, Brookings Institution, Rowman and Littlefield, Routledge, University of Alabama Press, American Political Science Review, PS, Comparative Politics, American Journal of Political Science, Policy Studies Journal, Policy Studies Review, Political Science Quarterly, the Journal of Politics, Western Political Quarterly, Polity, Social Science Quarterly, Political Behavior, American Politics Quarterly, Political Communication, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Government and Policy, Congress and the Presidency, Social Science Journal, Journal of Policy History, Political Research Quarterly, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Politics and Policy, and the National Science Foundation.

#### Selected Community Service

Administrative Law Judge/Hearing Officer for Cortland County Board of Health, 1994-present; for Tompkins County, 1997-present; for Chenango County, 1997-present; for Madison County, 2006-2021.

Member, City of Cortland Planning Commission, 2009-2012.

Chair, SUNY Press Board of Editors, 1998-2000 (board member 1993-96, 1997-2000).

Board President, Cortland County Arts Council, 1989-1990 (board member, 1987-1990).

Chair, Homer Zoning Board of Appeals, 1995-1997; board member 1988-1997.

Board member, Cortland County Landmark Society, 1989-1995.

Chair, Planning Committee on Codes and Safety for the village of Homer's Odyssey 2010 Project, 1996.

